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FBIS 100

ISRAEL'S ALLON REJECTS PLO AS NEGOTIATOR, SPOKESMAN FOR WEST BANK PALESTINIANS

LD 071634 PARIS L'EXPRESS IN FRENCH 5-[11 MAY 75] PP 56, 57 LD

(L'EXPRESS UNDATED PARIS INTERVIEW WITH ISRAEL FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON: "THE NEGOTIATIONS CAN RESUME")

(TEXT) L'EXPRESS: THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF TALK RECENTLY ABOUT THE ISOLATION OF ISRAEL. IS YOUR TRIP TO FRANCE AIMED AT PUTTING THIS RIGHT?

YIGAL ALLON: IN REALITY OUR ISOLATION HAS ONLY BEEN PARTIAL. WE HAVE ALWAYS MAINTAINED EXCELLENT FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE. SOME COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BROKEN OFF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH US ARE ONLY WAITING FOR THE PROPITIOUS MOMENT TO RESUME THEM. AS FAR AS FRANCE IS CONCERNED, SINCE 1967, WHEN WE HAD TO DEFEND OURSELVES IN THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY AGAINST THE AGGRESSION OF EGYPT, SYRIA, AND JORDAN, A COLD WIND HAS BLOWN FROM THE ELYSEE. PRESIDENT DE GAULLE WANTED TO PUNISH US. ALL WE DID, HOWEVER, WAS TO IMPLEMENT THE STRATEGY WHICH HE HAD RECOMMENDED FOR HIS OWN COUNTRY IN 1938.

IN ANY CASE, A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE IS DISCERNIBLE TODAY, MARKED BY FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES' VISIT TO ISRAEL AND THE ONE WHICH I HAVE JUST MADE TO PARIS. I HAVE BEEN VERY CORDIALLY AND AMICABLY RECEIVED. DIALOG HAS BEEN REESTABLISHED.

T (QUESTION) YOU HAVE SAID SEVERAL TIMES THAT IN YOUR TALKS WITH PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING AND YOUR OTHER INTERLOCUTORS YOU SOMETIMES AGREED TO DIFFER. CAN YOU BE MORE PRECISE?

I (ANSWER) THE PREVIOUS FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY MADE A SERIOUS MISTAKE, AND PERHAPS EVEN MORE THAN ONE MISTAKE. THESE MISTAKES MADE THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS MORE DIFFICULT. FIRST, THERE WERE MISTAKES IN THE TRANSLATION OF UN RESOLUTION 242 OF NOVEMBER 1967. THESE WERE FOLLOWED BY AN ERRONEOUS INTERPRETATION OF THIS SAME RESOLUTION.

FRANCE WAS THEN THE FIRST EUROPEAN COUNTRY TO TRY TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE BORDERS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS BEFORE THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN. FINALLY, FRANCE WAS ONE OF THE VERY FIRST STATES TO GRANT A KIND OF RECOGNITION TO THE SO-CALLED PLO, WHICH COULD ONLY ENCOURAGE TERRORISM.

THESE MISTAKES HAVE NOT SO FAR BEEN CORRECTED. FRANCE BECAME ONE OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES' MAIN ARMS SUPPLIERS BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO. THESE INITIATIVES AND THIS ATTITUDE CAN ONLY BE INTERPRETED AS AN UNFRIENDLY POLICY TOWARD US. TODAY I AM INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT A NEW ATTITUDE IS BECOMING APPARENT. FRANCE SEEMS TO WANT TO ADOPT A MORE BALANCED POLICY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE NEAR EAST COUNTRIES, A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY. AT LEAST, THAT IS WHAT I HAVE BEEN TOLD.

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(QUESTION) DO YOU GET THE IMPRESSION THAT THE USSR IS ALSO ON THE POINT OF REVISING ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD YOU?

(ANSWER) THE SITUATION IS RATHER COMPLICATED. I HAVE READ THE ARTICLES PUBLISHED RECENTLY BY THE WELL-KNOWN EGYPTIAN COMMENTATOR HAYKAL IN WHICH HE ASSERTS THAT THE SOVIET UNION KNEW ABOUT THE ARAB PREPARATIONS FOR THE YOM KIPPUR WAR AND THAT THEY DID NOTHING TO PREVENT IT. I HAVE NOT READ ANY DENIAL BY THE SOVIETS. IF WHAT HAYKAL SAYS IS TRUE, I THINK THE SOVIET UNION BEARS A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BLOODSHED. IT HAS NEVER CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY TO RESUME THE RELATIONS WHICH WERE BROKEN OFF IN 1967, DESPITE ITS THEORY OF COEXISTENCE.

THIS BREAK WAS, IN REALITY, MERELY AN OPPORTUNIST GESTURE. I CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW A COUNTRY WHICH ASPIRES TO PLTAY A ROLE IN WORKING OUT THE FUTURE OF THE NEAR EAST CAN CONSIDER ITSELF CAPABLE OF DOING SO WITHOUT FIRST NORMALIZING ITS RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND ADOPTING A MORE HONEST ATTITUDE TOWARD IT.

NEVERTHELESS, I HAVE BEEN ATTENTIVE TO THE STATEMENTS MADE BY SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO IN THE PRESENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN AND SYRIAN MINISTERS. HE DECLARED HIMSELF IN FAVOR OFT CONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, BUT HE STRESSED, AS WE DO, THE NECESSITY FOR METICULOUS PREPARATION. IT WAS A RESPONSIBLE STATEMENT, ALL THE MORE SO SINCE IT COMES AFTER SO MANY OTHERS AIMED ONLY AT HARMING US. WHEN MR GROMYKO ASSERTS THAT OUR RIGHT TO EXIST MUST BE RECOGNIZED, IT MAY SEEM STRANGE COMING FROM A COUNTRY WHICH RECOGNIZED ISRAEL OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AGO. HOWEVER, IT WAS A STATEMENT MADE IN THE PRESENCE OF ARAB MINISTERS, WHICH GAVE IT A CERTAIN SIGNIFICANCE.

(QUESTION) HAS THE USSR MADE IT KNOWN DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY THAT IT WOULD BE PREPARED TO RESTORE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS?

(ANSWER) NEITHER DIRECTLY NOR INDIRECTLY. THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGN.

(QUESTION) WHAT IS THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS?

(ANSWER) THE SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED. OVER THE PAST YEAR THE NUMBER OF EMIGRATION VISAS HAS BEEN CUT BY HALF.

(QUESTION) IN YOUR OPINION, COULD THE EVENTS IN INDOCHINA CHANGE YOUR WAY OF VIEWING RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES?

(ANSWER) NO CHANGE. WE HAVE NEVER COMPARED THE SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST WITH THAT IN INDOCHINA, NOR COMPARED ISRAEL WITH VIETNAM. NEVERTHELESS, CERTAIN LESSONS MUST BE DRAWN FROM THESE EVENTS. THEY SHOW US, FIRST AND FOREMOST, THAT AGREEMENTS WITHOUT CREDIBILITY HAVE NO SIGNIFICANCE. SECOND, THEY SHOW THAT ONE CAN ONLY HELP A FRIEND BY HELPING HIM TO HELP HIMSELF. WE ASK FOR NOTHING ELSE. WE WANT AN AGREEMENT, BUT AN AGREEMENT WHICH IS CREDIBLE. MOREOVER, WE ASK FOR THE MEANS WHICH WILL ALLOW US TO HELP OURSELVES. WE HAVE NEVER ASKED OTHER COUNTRIES TO DEFEND US BY SENDING TROOPS.

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XXX BY SENDING TROOPS.

(TEXT) (QUESTION) BUT THE UNITED STATES ITSELF IS TALKING ABOUT A GENERAL REVIEW OF ITS POLICY AFTER THE DEFEATS IT HAS SUSTAINED IN THE NEAR EAST AND NOW IN INDOCHINA.

(ANSWER) IT IS VERY NATURAL. BUT IT MUST BE BORNE IN MIND THAT THE AMERICAN DEFEAT IN INDOCHINA OR THE RIVALRIES WHICH HAVE ARISEN BETWEEN CERTAIN NATO COUNTRIES IN THE EASTMEDITERRANEAN ARE OF A MORE SERIOUS NATURE THAN THE TEMPORARY DEADLOCK IN THE NEAR EAST. HOWEVER IT MAY BE, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD DECIDE TO WEAKEN ISRAEL.

(QUESTION) HOW IS IT POSSIBLE TO ESCAPE THE NEAR EAST DEADLOCK? IF THERE IS NO GENEVA CONFERENCE, CAN THERE BE HOPE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT?

(ANSWER) I DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF RESUMING DISCUSSIONS WITH A VIEW TO AN INTERIM AGREEMENT LIKE THAT WHICH MR HENRY KISSINGER ATTEMPTED TO NEGOTIATE. THIS TIME, HOWEVER, THE AMERICANS WILL HAVE TO BE CERTAIN OF THEIR SUCCESS IN ADVANCE. THE FAILURE WAS CAUSED BY A MISTAKEN ASSESSMENT OF THE EGYPTIANS. THEY BELIEVED THAT IN ORDER TO COMPENSATE FOR THEIR DEFEAT IN VIETNAM THE AMERICANS NEEDED AN IMMEDIATE SUCCESS IN THE NEAR EAST AND THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO "CORNER" ISRAEL. THE MISTAKE WAS TO IMAGINE THAT BECAUSE ISRAEL IS A SMALL COUNTRY, IT WOULD SUCCUMB TO AMERICAN PRESSURE. ISRAEL DID NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE "CORNERED" BY GENERAL DE GAULLE AND NEITHER WILL IT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE "CORNERED" BY THE AMERICANS. BUT AFTER THE AMERICAN REVIEW, NEW INITIATIVES MAY BE ENVISAGED.

(QUESTION) DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE FAILURE OF MR KISSINGER HAS DERIVED HIM OF CREDIBILITY AS A NEGOTIATOR?

(ANSWER) I REGRET THAT DR KISSINGER CONSIDERED THIS FAILURE AS A PERSONAL SETBACK. HE HAD ACHIEVED REMARKABLE RESULTS IN NEGOTIATING THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS. BUT I BELIEVE THAT IN HIS ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE AN INTERIM AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT HE WAS PLACED IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION AS A RESULT OF EVENTS IN INDOCHINA. IT IS THESE EVENTS WHICH LED THE EGYPTIANS TO REFUSE TO CONSIDER OUR LATEST PROPOSALS.

TO RETURN TO DR KISSINGER, I KNOW FROM MY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE THAT ONE OR TWO FAILURES ARE INEVITABLE IN THE COURSE OF A POLITICAL CAREER. DR KISSINGER IS PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF TRYING TO START AGAIN ON THE BASIS OF NEW IDEAS AND METHODS. FOR OUR PART, WE ARE READY TO COLLABORATE TO FIND THESE IDEAS AND THESE METHODS. PRESIDENT AS-SADAT HAS SPOKEN MANY TIMES OF HIS DESIRE TO MAKE PEACE. WHY SPEAK INCESSANTLY OF MAKING PEACE? WOULD HE NOT RATHER MAKE IT THAN TALK INCESSANTLY ABOUT IT?

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(QUESTION) YOU MAINTAIN YOUR OPPOSITION TO THE PLO. WHAT CAN THE PALESTINIANS HOPE FOR, IN YOUR OPINION?

(ANSWER) ONCE AND FOR ALL THE MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE PLO MUST BE DISPELLED. THE PLO IS OFTEN COMPARED WITH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF COLONIAL COUNTRIES. THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE. THOSE MOVEMENTS ONLY WANTED TO REJECT THE TUTELAGE OF THE COLONIALIST COUNTRIES. THEY HAVE NEVER SPOKEN OF DESTROYING ANY STATE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PLO HAS ASSERTED IN ALL ITS OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS ITS INTENTION OF DESTROYING THE STATE OF ISRAEL. WHEN A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION DECLARES ITS INTENTIONS, YOU CAN BELIEVE IT, DO NOT BE NAIVE.

HAVING SAID THAT, WE RECOGNIZE IN ALL OUR PLANS THE NEED TO HELP THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY FIND A SOLUTION TO ITS IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIVELY, AND THAT COULD BE DONE WHEN THE TIME COMES TO NEGOTIATE OUR EASTERN BORDER AND IN THE CONTEXT OF PEACE WITH OUR NEIGHBOR IN THE EAST. ISRAEL IS READY TO RESOLVE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, BUT BY NEGOTIATIONS CONDUCTED AS THEY OUGHT TO BE. THIS OUTLOOK EXCLUDES THE PLO.

(QUESTION) BUT WHO COULD REPLACE THE PLO?

(ANSWER) THAT DEPENDS ON THE PALESTINIANS THEMSELVES. THE MAJORITY OF THEM LIVE ON BOTH BANKS OF THE JORDAN. WE BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF JORDAN, WHICH IS ALSO PALESTINIAN, AS WELL AS THE PALESTINIANS ON THE WEST BANK OF THE JORDAN SHOULD HAVE THEIR SAY IN THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

(QUESTION) BUT WHO ARE THE REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE PALESTINIANS ON THE WEST BANK?

(ANSWER) WHEN THE TIME FOR NEGOTIATION ARRIVES, THEY THEMSELVES WILL NOMINATE THOSE WHO MAY SPEAK ON THEIR BEHALF.

(END ALL)

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